

[Note to editors: For graphics material to run with the following story, see the cover of LNS packet #175, and also the graphics section in this packet.]

SOME FUNNIES AREN'T SO FUNNY

By Andrew Moss

LIBERATION News Service / Peninsula Observer

"If big business and big government didn't work together," Daddy Warbucks (of the comic strip "Little Orphan Annie") once said, "pretty soon big business and government would both go out of business with one loud crash."

"Br-r," says Annie, "sure don't want that."

"When I poked fun at Joe McCarthy everybody got scared," said Walt Kelly, creator of "Pogo." Some papers canceled with the excuse that it was against their policy to have politics in comics. But I notice that when I poked fun at the communists in Pogo nobody canceled."

Everybody knows there is politics in the comics. Almost everything that goes into the mass media is political; it has to be because anything that conveys opinions to huge numbers of people makes politics. And a lot of people read the comics -- about a hundred million people every day, more than read the editorials, or the sports pages, or anything else in the papers except the headlines. If you want to get to a lot of people, write yourself a syndicated comic strip.

Consequently comic strips are something like continuous low-key editorials. The message they put out is fairly simple, excluding a few mavericks like Dan O'Neill's "Odd Bodkins." It boils down to this: defend the consensus. Don't make waves.

Last month four comic strips discovered the student revolutions. Bob Lubbers' "Robin Malone" a dreary fantasy about a sexy lady tycoon, was half way through an episode about Robin's baseball team -- will handsome Hickory Stone pull the Robins out of the mud and screw the owner? -- when Lubbers suddenly saw the front page's student unrest. He promptly snuck in Malone U., a wholly owned university run by a president who looks

suspiciously like Stanford's former president, Wallace Sterling. The calm of Malone U. is threatened by the Students For Democracy (oh yeah?), a collection of longhaired peace faggots. Currently the Students For Democracy are holding the administration building, and Robin is about to call in Hickory and the baseball team to straighten them out.

The Students For Democracy are so obviously a paranoid fantasy, straight from Lubbers' uptight puritan id, that the San Francisco Chronicle dropped the strip as soon as they swarmed into sight. But "Robin Malone" is still going in the Palo Alto Times, where it corresponds closely to editor Alexander Bodi's cockeyed world view.

Alex Kotzky's "Apartment 3G", just up the Chronicle's page from where Robin used to be, jumped on the bandwagon about a week later. Kotzky promoted his resident academic, one Professor Papagoras, to acting president of the university (sound familiar?) just in time for him to be overrun by his resident peace creeps. Papagoras is also getting blackmailed by his local underground newspaper. ("Typical of all so-called underground newspapers, practically all the material is juvenile," the strip informs us.)

At least "3G's" student agitators look like human beings, but, as in "Robin Malone," their motivations and their politics don't really enter into the action. The students are misguided, led astray by outside agitators, deluded by the underground press.

Last Sunday "Archie" and "Li'l Abner" joined the action, Archie with a high-school sit-in and Abner with a Berkeley-style revolt in Slobberia. Even "Pogo" is beginning to stir -- "all these modern rebels gives me a pain," says Howland Owl. No doubt by the time the various House and Senate investigating agencies get into their various student-inquisition routines this summer the strips will be full of stern but fatherly administrators putting down bestial peace creeps with the aid of the

campus jocks.

In "Robin Malone" those jocks average about a foot taller than the Students For Democracy. The jocks are conventionally handsome, studious -- they carry books under their arms -- and chivalrous. Comics editorialize graphically; heroic upshots of the clean-cuts make them look like supermen with brains, long downshots of the Students for Democracy make them look like a swarm of insects. When a jock slugs an insect his moral sanction has already been established graphically -- the jock is clean and pretty, he's big, and, since he's in the foreground, he must be right. The president of Malone U. is your mother's fantasy of a white-haired elder statesman; a man like that couldn't possibly be in the wrong. He and Robin plan their counter-action in front of a giant portrait of Eisenhower; if America's chief fetish smiles on what you do, you could hardly lose.

"3G" uses a different trick to legitimise the university authorities. Papagoras is one of the continuing heroes in the strip from past episodes; we know he's a kindly old father figure. When he slugs a rebellious student he has all his previously-established authority behind him. Identifying power with a hero's charisma is an old propaganda trick, and a natural for the comics.

"Robin Malone" and "3G" are small, advance warnings of how the popular culture supports repression from above. Repression works by identifying right with constituted authority;

in the strips the identification is made by having the strip heroes become, or support, constituted authority and by slanting the graphics so that authority has all the desirable attributes -- wealth, power, beauty -- and its opponents none. The real background of the events that the strip is talking about can be ignored; the readers will identify with an empty-headed female tycoon because she is the hero.

Popular culture used to have heroes who weren't identified with authority -- Chaplin's little man, Art Carney in "The Honeymooners," even Li'l Abner once. But when society is falling apart, the mass media have a job to do: they have to maintain the consensus. Fortunately they don't really know how to do it any better than the repressive agencies do. It's worth remembering that while they dump on the student movement, the comics are still presenting the possibility of militant action to a lot of people who don't read the underground press.

One of the Presidio "mutineers," now in Canada, recently told an interviewer how the prisoners got the idea for a sit-in demonstration. "We had all seen it on TV," he said. "Nobody had to suggest it."

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SIR ERIC ON CUBA

The Prime Minister of Trinidad and Tobago, Sir Eric Williams, recently called for the restoration of Cuba's membership in the Organization of American States (OAS), from which she was excluded in 1964. Sir Eric, chairman of the sixth meeting of the Inter-American Economic and Social Council, stressed the need for the Caribbean nations to "get some accommodation" with Cuba in terms of trade and diplomatic relations. The U.S.-enforced blockade of Cuba remains the greatest obstacle to a normalization of relations. (NACLA/LNS)

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JOIN THE VENCEREMOS BRIGADE!!

AL PAREDON! -- UP AGAINST THE WALL!

(A selection of news from Latin America by the staff of the NACLA, the North American Congress on Latin America. For more information about NACLA's work, and a sample copy of their monthly newsletter, write to NACLA, P.O. Box 57, Cathedral Station, New York, N.Y. 10025.)

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CIA STILL ON THE JOB IN BOLIVIA

By NACLA
LIBERATION News Service

A third attempt has been made on the life of Antonio Arguedas, the former Interior Minister of Bolivia, who turned over Che's diary to Cuba and who later admitted to working for the CIA. Arguedas and other Bolivian officials, including the assistant director of the Criminal Investigation Office, believe that the attacks were made by CIA agents in response to Arguedas' revelations about CIA operations in Bolivia and other Latin American countries.

Arguedas indicated that he is prepared to reveal the identity of the head of the terrorist group responsible for the assassination attempts, a group which was organized by the CIA and which includes members of the Bolivian armed forces.

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TAMPERING WITH THE MAILS IS A FEDERAL OFFENSE

By NACLA
LIBERATION News Service

The Executive Secretariat of the Organization of Solidarity of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America (OSPAAAL) issued a special communique attacking the distribution of forged printed material designed to sow discord between various liberation movements.

From its headquarters in Havana, OSPAAAL accused the CIA and other Western espionage agencies of printing phony posters with OSPAAAL insignia, and of intercepting OSPAAAL mailings to remove the genuine material and insert the forged articles.

The OSPAAAL Secretariat declared that "lies and provocations will not mar our prestige because the voice of OSPAAAL has always

been raised on behalf and in defense of the interests of the revolutionary peoples and governments."

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VENEZUELAN SEIZE UNIVERSITY BUILDING,
FOUL A CIA PROJECT

By NACLA
LIBERATION News Service

Venezuelan students, faculty and employees at the School of Economics took over the Center for Development Studies (CENDES), a research institute at the Central University of Venezuela in Caracas, to protest the alleged involvement of the CIA in the program. A professor at the School of Economics stated that the reason for the takeover was to expose the fact that CENDES "houses sociological espionage activities that damage our sovereignty, and are a detriment to the Central University and to national interests."

The Center's staff includes Max Millikan, a former assistant director of the CIA who set up the MIT Center for International Studies with CIA money.

The CENDES project was likened to Project Camelot, an Army-funded social science project that was cancelled in 1966. Project Camelot was attacked in the Chilean legislature as an intelligence operation designed to guide future U.S. counter-insurgency operations in Latin America.

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MORE PROFITS FROM THE
DOMINICAN INTERVENTION

By NACLA
LIBERATION News Service

Another sugar plum has been dropped into the laps of U.S. corporations and the Dominican oligarchy by the U.S. Department of Agriculture and the Dominican government. When 100,000 tons of Puerto Rico's unused sugar quota were reallocated to other countries by the Agriculture Department, the lion's share (61,250) tons went to Dominican producers.

It happens that a major "Dominican" producer,

South Puerto Rico Sugar Co., is a subsidiary of the U.S.-owned conglomerate, Gulf and Western Industries. A company with notoriously close connections to the Johnson Administration, G&W had everything to gain from the 1965 Dominican intervention. As the lucrative U.S. sugar quota for the Dominican Republic climbed after 1965 (it's now the largest in Latin America with a total of 660,949 tons for this year), G&W has reaped fat profits from its Dominican subsidiary, and has begun to develop new operations on its 300,000 choice acres.

In the city of La Romana, where the company owns one of the world's largest sugar mills, G&W is developing an industrial "free zone" under a 30-year contract with the Dominican government. The agreement permits 20 years of tax exemption to manufacturers and exemption from duty and excise taxes on materials used for the production of goods and articles. G&W is already constructing a cement plant in the zone and plans to complete in September a 30-room hotel for U.S. tourists and gamblers.

At last we can fully appreciate why all those Marines stormed the Dominican shores in 1965 to crush the revolution for independence.

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[NOTE: More NACLA stuff scattered elsewhere in this packet.]

PLP ATTEMPT TO DISRUPT REGIONAL MEETING

FOILED BY NEW YORK SDSERS

NEW YORK (LNS)---About 75 followers of the Progressive Labor Party (PLP), including a member of the party's central committee, tried to force their way into a regional SDS meeting held at New York University on July 7. The SDS security crew managed to keep the intruders out, but only after they^(PLers) had smashed in a glass door that sent slices of glass flying into the crowd of defenders.

Last month SDS expelled the PLP faction for its failure to support revolutionary struggles for national liberation in this country and the Third World. As a result of this expulsion, SDS expected that PLP might try to disrupt the New York meeting and so there was a

large security force on hand.

New York Regional SDS had called the meeting for 6:00 p.m. in the auditorium of the NYU student center. Shortly after 6 p.m. the PLP contingent tried to push their way through a set of glass doors and past the security crew. Failing this, they shattered the glass with ashtrays, sticks and umbrellas. The attackers finally gave up when they were drenched by a fire hose turned on them by a quick-thinking member of the security force.

About a dozen people were injured by flying glass and thrown objects. One SDSer was knocked unconscious. Riot-helmeted cops arrived a few minutes later with guns drawn; they proceeded to pick through the debris and clear everyone out of the lobby.

But the attempt to disrupt the meeting had failed. Upstairs in the auditorium 200 SDSers carried on with their planning of summer and fall programs, though in a somewhat anti-climactic mood after the intense fighting at the door. Seventy other SDS members who could not get into the building because of the police cordon sent in a message of solidarity with the meeting, and went off to find some place to hold a meeting of their own, hopefully without harassment from the cops or PLP.

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ROCKY GETS LATIN WELCOME AT NEW YORK AIRPORT
NEW YORK (LNS) -- Gov. Nelson Rockefeller, whose mission to Latin America was repudiated by protests throughout the continent, was greeted by some 250 demonstrators when he landed at John F. Kennedy airport July 6.

The demonstrators confronted the limousines of Rocky's staff with chants of "Cuba Si, Rocky No," "Dos, Tres Muchos Vietnames," and "Rocky, Fascist, Go Away, Viva Che, Viva Che." But the limousines made a speeding getaway, and Rocky himself escaped to his Westchester County estate via helicopter after talking to reporters on the airfield.

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KEEP ON TRUCKIN'

(Note to editors: The following paper was prepared by LNS staffer Allen Young for presentation to a seminar of 80 visiting Brazilian university students at Harvard University later this month. Although many of the points raised are obvious to people involved in the radical media, we hope this paper might be useful in the development of a more serious, detailed critique of the mass media in America.)

MASS MEDIA IN AMERICA: A POLITICAL EVALUATION

By Allen Young
LIBERATION News Service

The mass media in America can be intelligently examined within the political and social context in which they function. (In this paper, I will interchangeably use the terms "mass media" and "the press." The statements I will make about the printed word, the political, economic and social evaluations of the press, hold in general for the electronic media as well. Besides, my own experience with and knowledge of the press is considerably more extensive than my familiarity with the electronic media.)

We should examine the press as we examine any other phenomenon in American life: by making some subjective and statistical observations, by citing the generally accepted theoretical role in the society, and by examining finally the part that it plays in actual practice.

What are some of the subjective and statistical observations we might make? Media play a big part in the life of the American people. Virtually every home has two radios and a TV set. The typical family reads more than one daily newspaper and several other publications. The typical metropolitan family is exposed to 1500 advertisements each day. Our highways are studied with billboards. In hotel lobbies and office building elevators, we have Musak. There are 1700 daily papers, thousands of weeklies (most of them published in big city neighborhoods or small towns and financed by retail advertising), a thousand college papers (many of them published daily by all-student staffs), and about 250 publications of the old and new left -- to say nothing of publications for such specialties as chicken farming, well-drilling, law, medicine and so forth.

The people of the U.S. own 224,600,000 radios, 93,200,000 TV sets, 53,239,000 phonograph sets, and 10,000,000 tape recorders. There are 832 TV broadcasting stations, 4281 standard broadcast (AM) radio stations, and 1838 frequency modulation (FM) radio stations. More than 50 magazines have a circulation of more than a million, with Reader's Digest topping them all at 17,000,000.

The technical excellence of the American media is also striking -- synchronized smooth camera work on TV, high fidelity stereophonic radio sound production, beautiful color magazine work, high-speed rotary presses to get the news out quickly and neatly, elaborate news networks and staffs designed to compile information swiftly and accurately.

Freedom of the press is seen as a basic aspect of American democracy. Almost the first words of the Bill of Rights provide: "Congress shall make no law...abridging the freedom of speech or of the press."

In practice, of course, the U.S. has come to recognize limitations of the press similar to those restrictions extant in most of the nations of Western Europe and Latin America. These restrictions concern obscenity and libel, as well as "political crimes," such as incitement to violence and sedition. How far a publication can go in urging revolutionary acts has not been clearly defined. Even now, as a rash of new hip-radical so-called "underground" papers emerge, with their mixture of sexual liberation ("obscenity") and political liberation ("sedition"), action is sporadically taken against them, with no clear legal guidelines established by police, courts or legislatures. It seems that the freedom of the press is relative; restrictions on said freedom are "taken for granted." As Carr, Bernstein and Morrison observe in their basic textbook American Democracy in Theory and Practice, "no right, however basic, better illustrates the relativity of freedom in the modern state."

The press in America has a self-image which is generally accepted by most professionals who work in it and by most of the people in the society. This self-image goes something like this:

The press is above all dedicated to the concept that a democracy can function best when there is a well-informed public. The job of the press, then, is to provide accurate information about public affairs to all people, who, drawing upon this impartially-presented information, will be able to do their civic duties better -- that is, to vote more intelligently, to participate in or support certain pressure groups, lobbies and voluntary organizations, to have the proper influence on the government, schools, churches and other institutions.

Through editorial comment, columnists and investigatory reporting, furthermore, according to the self-image, the press can have a definite influence on the political life of the nation. Influential men in Washington, New York and other centers of power (dozens of copies of The New York Times are flown daily to Moscow) interact with the press. By dint of their audience, these papers become "influential" in their own right. Most papers, however, see their primary function as one of public service, not political engagement.

Most of the 1700 dailies in the U.S. are identified with one of the two political parties -- Republican or Democrat. These partisan political affiliations, however, are of relatively little significance to the content of the paper or the role in its community. Few Democratic papers are vociferous advocates of the Democratic Party, and few Republican papers spend much of their energy promoting the Republican Party. Usually, the party affiliation means that a paper will give editorial support to candidates of that party. A Democratic paper will perhaps be kinder

to a Democratic mayor, more sharp in its criticisms of a Republican Congressman.

American papers are much more similar to one another than they are different, in terms of their evaluation and presentation of "news," and in the political attitudes of their publishers and editors and reporters. The American TV and radio networks and stations do not have even nominal political affiliation. All this is no doubt a reflection of the generalized American political consensus, which I will discuss in more detail below.

The role of the concept of objectivity is very important in understanding the nature of U.S. journalism. The U.S. press is dedicated to the principle of objectivity, that is, the ability to look at a situation or event and describe it without emotion or bias, without reference to the personal preference of the writer and without attempting to directly influence the reader on the merits of the case. The journalistic profession takes great pride in this objectivity, in its ability to report the truth, "without fear or favor," and, in fact, journalists rarely enter political careers because it is considered contradictory to the values of the profession. Once a journalist becomes publicly associated with a cause, he loses his credibility and his prestige within the profession.

Finally, the self-image of the press stresses its freedom and its independence. The Associated Press and United Press, International are proudly independent organizations, beyond the control of the government, and do not suffer the direct government control of, for example, France's Agence France Press, or TASS of the Soviet Union. There would be a great hue and cry should government censors attempt to interfere with the content of a newspaper, with the distribution of newsprint, with the free flow of information to reporters. At least, professional journalists like to think there would be such a hue and cry. Reporters are supposed to feel free to write articles which criticize officials and which place government programs in a bad light. Criticism by public officials, including the president, against the press, is badly received by the press and the general public alike. We have a tradition which encourages the press to say nasty things about the officials of the government.

There you have it. A description of the press which would more or less satisfy most professional journalists and the average newspaper reader. But it doesn't satisfy me.

We can begin a critique of the press by citing a chapter from the Kerner Commission on the race problem in America.

Reporters naturally reflect all the prejudices and ingrown attitudes of the society around them. A report issued by the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders (Kerner Commission) -- which had been assigned to investigate the riots which struck American cities in the summers of 1965, 1966 and 1967 -- clearly

describes white America as racist. It gives a view of the life of America's black people which contradicts the dominant attitudes of whites. For most white people, the traditional view of the misery and poverty of blacks is: "That's too bad, but it's their own fault," or something like that. The Kerner Commission said:

"Segregation and poverty have created in the racial ghetto a destructive environment totally unknown to most white Americans. What white Americans have never fully understood -- but what the Negro can never forget -- is that white society is deeply implicated in the ghetto. White institutions created it, white institutions maintain it, and white society condones it."

The implications of these conclusions for the mass media of the U.S. are obvious. Given the technology and skills available, how could there be an environment affecting 15% of the population "totally unknown to most white Americans"? The commission investigated the role of the mass media not only in reporting the ghetto disorders, but in creating the generalized attitudes of white America. The Commission's conclusions were clear, though no surprise to anyone who had given the subject a moment's thought:

"...the media have thus far failed to report adequately on the causes and consequences of civil disorders and the underlying problems of race relations....The media report and write from the standpoint of a white man's world. The ills of the ghetto, the difficulties of life there, the Negro's burning sense of grievance, are seldom conveyed. Sights and indignities are part of the Negro's daily life and many of them come from what he now calls 'the white press' -- a press that repeatedly if unconsciously, reflects the biases, the paternalism, the indifference of white America."

The report explains something of the process. For example:

"...newsmen rely on the police for most of their information about what is happening during a disorder and tend to report much more of what the officials are doing and saying than what Negro citizens or leaders in the city are doing and saying."

The report goes on to criticize in detail the failure of papers and electronic media to cover adequately life in the ghetto, thus contributing to white ignorance and Negro alienation.

The implications of the Kerner Commission report go far beyond the question of black and white in America, however. With reference to the media, the report shows the political role that media can have. It shows that the press is directly responsible for transmitting and maintaining certain political attitudes on the part of white people, and, of course, on the part of the white power structure. What the report fails to do, however, is to explain the power relationships which lead to and support the distortions in the media. The Kerner report implies that it is all some sort of oversight or misunderstanding.

ing, but this seems to me to be a rather superficial way of examining political phenomena.

It is only natural for us to extrapolate from the report's conclusion, however. If the press can formulate distorted, incorrect values on one subject, can they do it on another? If

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It would be nice to say that the insights of the Kerner Commission report have inspired great changes in the American system. But those who have studied history know that reports do not remove men from positions of power. Only struggle can accomplish that. The revelations of the report go deeper than most commentators or politicians have been willing to admit. No wonder that less than a year since its publication, the report is pretty much of a dead letter, to be cited by lawyers defending blacks in the courts, ignored by police chiefs, city officials and most newspaper editors.

In any case, the Kerner Commission report was no earthshaking revelation for any sensitive observer of the American scene. Nor was it the first time that members of the establishment press have recognized their shortcomings. In his book The Artillery of the Press, James Reston, influential associate editor of The New York Times, friend of several presidents, wrote:

"We can see now that the conditions of life in Cuba under Batista were big news, but we paid very little attention to what was going on there at the time."

they can play a political role vis-a-vis race relations, can they play a political role in other fields, say, the question of U.S. relations with underdeveloped countries? Compare the citations from the Kerner report, left, with the altered quotations on the right:

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Exploitation and poverty have created in the Third World a destructive environment totally unknown to most North Americans. What North Americans have never fully understood -- but what the people of the Third World can never forget -- is that North American imperialism is deeply implicated in the Third World. North American institutions created it, North American institutions maintain it, and North American society condones it.

"...the media have thus far failed to report adequately on the causes and consequences of wars for national liberation and the underlying problems of relations between rich countries and poor ones....The media write and report from the standpoint of the world of the metropolis. The ills of the underdeveloped countries, the difficulties of life there, the people's burning sense of grievance, are seldom conveyed. Slightings and indignities come from what they now call the "press of the imperialist lackeys" -- a press that repeatedly, if unconsciously, reflects the biases, the paternalism, the indifference of imperialist America."

"...newsmen rely on government officials and the U.S. Embassy for most of their information about what is happening during a liberation struggle, and tend to report much more of what the officials are doing and saying than what popular leaders or ordinary citizens are doing and saying."

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Of course, the reality of Batista's Cuba is not so different from the reality of today's Guatemala, or today's Brazil, but this is not reflected in the pages of Reston's newspaper. Only a few weeks ago, a reporter for The Times visited Asuncion (as Times reporters do once a year or so), and he wrote a story about the "new" efforts of General Stroessner toward economic progress and political democracy. Similar stories were printed in the Times about Stroessner last year and the year before. The Paraguayan dictatorship remains essentially the same. Similar stories were printed on The Times' pages about Batista year after year, too, and only when Fidel Castro and his guerrilla army triumphed and initiated their political and social revolution did the reality of Cuba begin to make an impression in the United States.

America's press has a fantastic ability to compile and publish large amounts of information. But these facts are rarely placed in the context required by history, politics and sociology. The daily report of the war in Vietnam, and the films of the horrors of the war, are presented with the same calm and mental tranquility as the weather report. How else, if not by analyzing the ultimate

absurdity of "objectivity", can one evaluate the support of the American people for the North American aggression in Vietnam. Reston begins to explain it.

"...more than 400,000 Americans, most of them conscripts, are now fighting in Vietnam. Most of them do not know how it started, and even many officials are extremely vague about how we got so deeply involved. It cannot be said that the people were well-informed before their commitment to the battle, or even that their representatives in Congress really debated the decision to wage this kind of war at the time of our involvement....There was so little information and so much executive authority that the President could do what he pleased."

The implication of Reston's remarks is that something is wrong with the minds of the readers, but he fails to question the context in which the facts were presented to the American public. Reston himself, the epitome of the super-patriot, liberal-style -- reasonable, calm, but no less fanatic in his respect and adoration for the American government -- is one of those most responsible for giving The New York Times readers the impression that "our country" is "doing right" in Vietnam "to stop the Communists," and for never dealing honestly with the reality of the puppet government in Saigon, the programs of the National Liberation Front, and the accomplishments of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. The same sort of patriotism guides the reporters and editors of the AP and UPI. Direct government control is simply not necessary.

I noted before that American reporters pride themselves on their aloofness in the name of objectivity. Now, a reporter will certainly restrain himself from joining in, say, a New Left demonstration in the streets to protest against the war in Vietnam (though he may have strong anti-war feelings), but reporters have aided the Federal Bureau of Investigation by giving them information, and recently a Times reporter gave testimony on SDS to the House Internal Security Subcommittee. The publisher of a newspaper may go to a cocktail party with the Secretary of State. Just attending such a party is a highly political act, and in the course of casual conversation, the publisher may say something about foreign policy that could influence the course of action taken by the government, or, more likely, the Secretary of State may pressure the publisher to take a certain stand, withhold a certain story, or otherwise manage the news. Yet, the publisher has no qualms about this, and no one on the staff would even make the political connection which I have made here. (Marxists call this false consciousness, and breeding false consciousness on the part of working people is one of the preoccupations of the ruling class; it is the assigned tasks of the masters of the media.)

There are other factors in American journalism which undermine the neutrality of the individual reporter in a way not generally understood by the American public. Reston describes

the problems of a reporter who covers the White House -- though the generalizations he makes are relevant to any news source with which a reporter must be close:

"Reporters who travel with him [the President] all the time...are not only familiar to him but subject to his system of punishments and rewards, which can be embarrassing to a reporter on a highly competitive beat....It is very difficult to sit and listen to a president explaining his terrible problems and narrow options without becoming sympathetic to the man and subjective about the range of topics discussed when he asks you what you would do in his place."

It is not a mere question of reporters having informal obligations to officials. Reporters perform a useful service, and many officials know how to use reporters cleverly. Public relations -- manipulation of people -- is a kind of modified mental slavery. It is very well practiced in America, and reporters are prime victims. Conscious or not, reporters fit into the overall scheme of official America. Reston notes that:

"The people who write the news are not the enemies but the allies of officials. They are usually delivering the news as the post office delivers the mail, and when officials and reporters perform this cooperative service, which is what they do most of the time, they are undoubtedly an influential combination."

Reston obviously does not see this cooperation as evil in and of itself, because he understands the general direction of U.S. society as positive, benevolent and progressive. But what about those who don't have this view of U.S. society and its role in the world? What about those of us who think that most of the officials of the State Department and the Pentagon are war criminals?

America's press is in fact a powerful and willing tool of the powerful elite which runs the nation. The press reflects values which are both capitalistic and hierarchical. Papers are not run by the people who work on them, nor in the interests of those who read them, but by the publishers and in the publishers' interest.

The political role of the press is also played out in its maintenance of certain hierarchical standards and values. For those who, like the New Left, propose communal values to replace the outmoded hierarchical ones, the press as it is now constituted is a deadly enemy. Hierarchy in America is the hierarchy of various factors -- usually a combination of wealth and power (and not infrequently the added factor of age). It is the attitude toward hierarchy, the ingrown acceptance of it, that gravely affects the behavior of reporters and editors. They tend to go to officials for their information and to accept that information. Even if they know it is a lie, they will report it, saying, "According to officials..."

The coverage in The New York Times of the rebellion at Columbia University in the spring of 1968 provides an excellent illustration of the concept of hierarchy as practiced by the press. It shows the influence of press ownership and the subtleties of so-called objectivity. First of all, the Times is owned by the Sulzberger family. The chairman of the board of directors, Arthur Hays Sulzberger (now deceased), and the publisher, his son, Arthur Ochs Sulzberger, are both Columbia graduates. The wives of both men went to Barnard College, Columbia's division for women. Arthur Hays Sulzberger served for many years on the board of trustees of Columbia, and was on the board at the time of the crisis. The other trustees were not only his colleagues, but his friends and his social equals. Columbia has always been a "sacred cow" at The Times, and letters eventually retrieved from the office of University President Grayson Kirk during the student occupation indicate beyond doubt that the university's ties to the paper are intimate indeed.

During the rebellion, the Times continually charged by innuendo that the students were vandals, anarchists, etc., never clearly stating the political objectives of the students or their critique of the university and its role in fostering racism and imperialism. The Times printed several complete textual statements from the President, the trustees or faculty committees -- such "full texts" being part of The Times' proudly-proclaimed objectivity -- but never was there a full text by the striking students. Their point of view was always put in incoherent quotations, scattered and confusing. Stories that could hardly be called news were placed on Page One of the paper. Thirty law school professors signed a predictable statement denouncing the demonstrations -- on Page One. One Times editor wrote a maudlin, tear-jerking story about the damage done to President Kirk's office, but I have never seen a sentimental story in The Times

about the war research done at Columbia and the suffering and damage it causes. The Times even conducted its own survey of New Yorkers to show that people disapproved of the strike. This went on for months. Last fall, students demonstrated while teachers were meeting to decide on the discipline of students. The students rallied to criticize the professors as war criminals, for their Pentagon- and CIA-sponsored research, and said that it was the trustees who should be disciplined, not the students. But the article in The Times the next day dealt only with the teachers' repressive resolutions, with not a word on the student challenge to the authority and legitimacy of teachers and trustees. The reporters did not print any blatant specific lies. But they did respond to their own notion of hierarchy in America -- what professors and trustees do and say is somehow worth more than what students do and say. But the result is not just a perpetuation of the status quo, it is the perpetuation of the big lie that people in authority are somehow more correct, more truthful than the people. This is what New Leftists mean when they attack the so-called free press as the bourgeois press.

The press is responsible, furthermore, for reinforcing a particular values system. It treats the worst crimes of the century, such as the intervention in the conflict in Vietnam, with an attitude that is so relaxed, so "tolerant," as to border on the absurd.

Herbert Marcuse, the German-born philosopher and New Left theorist, examines this concept:

"Tolerance toward that which is radically evil now appears as good because it serves the cohesion of the whole on the road to affluence or more affluence. The toleration of the systematic moronization of children and adults alike by publicity and propaganda, the release of destructiveness in aggressive driving, the recruitment for and training of special forces, the impotent and benevolent tolerance toward outright deception in merchandising, waste and planned obsolescence are not distortions and aberrations, they are the essence of a system which fosters tolerance as a means for perpetuating the struggle for existence and suppressing the alternatives. The authorities in education, morals and psychology are vociferous against the increase in juvenile delinquency; they are less vociferous against the proud presentation, in word and deed and picture, of ever more powerful missiles, rockets, bombs -- the mature delinquency of a whole civilization."

The myth of the free press and the myth of American democracy go hand in hand. The American people are told that their political system is a democracy, a two-party democracy. "If you don't like the man who is in office, wait a few years and then vote him out..." The myth hides the reality of back-room controls, the high cost of political campaigning, the manipulation of the people through phony campaign hooplah.

Again, Marcuse's words express this concept as it relates to the media:

"In the contemporary period, the democratic argument for abstract tolerance tends to be invalidated by the invalidation of the democratic process itself. The liberating force of democracy was the chance it gave to effective dissent, on the individual as well as social scale, its openness to qualitatively different forms of government, of culture, education and work -- of the human existence in general. The toleration of free discussion and the equal right of opposites was to define and clarify the different forms of dissent: their direction, content, prospect. But with the concentration of economic and political power and the integration of opposites in a society which uses technology as an instrument of domination, effective dissent is blocked where it could freely emerge: in the formulation of opinion, in information and communication, in speech and assembly. Under the rule of monopolistic media -- themselves the mere instruments of economic and political power -- a mentality is created for which right and wrong, true and false are predefined wherever they affect the vital interests of the society. This is, prior to all expression and communication, a matter of semantics; the blocking of effective dissent,

of the recognition of that which is not of the Establishment which begins in the language that is publicized and administered. The meaning of words is rigidly stabilized. RAtional persuasion, persuasion to the opposite is all but precluded. The avenues of entrance are closed to the meaning of words and ideas other than the established one -- established by the publicity of the powers that be, and verified in their practices. Other words can be spoken and heard, other ideas can be expressed, but, at the massive scale of the conservative majority (outside such enclaves as the intelligentsia), they are immediately 'evaluated' (i.e., automatically understood) in terms of the public language -- a language which determines a priori the direction in which the thought process moves."

This process is best illustrated through the issues of the Vietnam war and black people in America. Take a phrase like "aggression" and relate it to Vietnam. The American people have, over a period of years, been bombarded through the media in such a way that the term "aggression in Vietnam" means "North Vietnamese aggression" or "Chinese aggression" (even though there are no Chinese troops in Vietnam or anywhere outside Chinese territory). When someone tries to talk about U.S. aggression -- a phenomenon supported by facts -- he is looked upon as un-American or crazy. He has challenged the established meaning of a word. Or take the phrase "crime in the streets." To the typical American, because of the influence of the press, in the service of powerful officials and politicians, the phrase "crime in the streets" refers to black people and left-wing students. To blacks and leftists, however, the criminals in the streets are the men in blue uniforms. We can say that our point of view is "tolerated," to use Marcuse's term, but this tolerance is repressive, that is, the society is organized in such a way so that dissent is effectively rendered useless. Only in this context of repressive tolerance, in the context of a world where falsehood is truth, where evil is good, can you understand the "freedom of speech" given to me here, or the freedom of the press given to the Communist Party's Daily World, or the New Left Guardian, or my own group, Liberation News Service. As Marcuse explains it:

"In a democracy with totalitarian organization, objectivity may fulfill a very different function, namely, to foster a mental attitude which tends to obliterate the difference between true and false, information and indoctrination, right and wrong. When tolerance mainly serves the protection and preservation of a repressive society, when it serves to neutralize opposition and to render men immune against other and better forms of life, then tolerance has been perverted."

America's so-called free press, then, is a perverted free press, a press that perpetuates the slavery of the American people. Last fall, during the Presidential campaign, the three Presidential candidates, Humphrey, Nixon and Wallace, all spoke of the need for law and order. Law and order for whom? As Marcuse says,

"Law and order are always and everywhere the

law and order which protect the established hierarchy; it is nonsensical to invoke the absolute authority of his law and this order against those who suffer from it and struggle against it -- not for personal advantage and revenge, but for their share of humanity."

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[Note to editors: Any comments, criticisms, suggested revisions and refinements, anecdotes, examples, etc., on the above would be greatly appreciated. Send to Allen Young, c/o LNS, 160 Claremont Av., New York, N.Y. 10027.]

CHURCH POLITICS IN MEXICO

By NACLA
LIBERATION News Service

Only three months ago, The New York Times reported that the Vatican had banned participation by Catholic priests in Cuernavaca's controversial Center for Intercultural Documentation (CIDOC).

As reported in the June 27 issue of Latin America magazine, "this was seen in Mexico as amounting to a body blow as much against the progressive bishop of Cuernavaca, Mons. Sergio Mendez Arceo, under whose wing it is operated, as against CIDOC itself or its controversial director, Mons. Ivan Illich."

As a result of a personal visit to Rome by Mons. Mendez Arceo, Pope Paul has decided to end the ban. His decision to back Mendez Arceo and CIDOC is viewed as a setback for the Mexican Church hierarchy, one of the most conservative in Latin America.

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LIVE IT UP IN ECUADOR

New vacation sites for tourists have priority over the welfare of the Ecuadorean people. A group of Ecuadorean, Texan and Illinois investors have pooled their resources to build Ecuador's first resort community, to be located 80 miles west of Guayaquil, the country's chief commercial city.

The new resort will have four miles of beach and cliffs upon which U.S. executives can play cards and close business deals while soaking up that warm Pacific sun.

Ecuador is among the poorest nations of Latin America, with a per capita income of less than \$190 annually. (LNS/NACLA)

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(Editor's note: More than 2,000 Ethiopian students have been sent to labor camps, peasants killed, and workers imprisoned in a wave of revolt in America's feudal stronghold in Africa. There has been but passing mention of this in the establishment press. The following articles on Ethiopia are therefore very important, and editors should make an effort to print them.)

ETHIOPIAN STUDENTS SAY PUT THE LION OF JUDAH IN THE ZOO

By Marilyn Salzman Webb

LIBERATION News Service

WASHINGTON, D.C. (LNS)-- Sirens wailed in the distance and then grew near. A procession of Cadillac limosines rounded the corner of 17th Street and wheeled slowly onto Pennsylvania Avenue. Making a U-turn as all traffic was stopped, the procession came to a halt in front of Blair House, the White House guest home. Ethiopian and American flags lined all nearby streets. Haile Sellasie, Emperor of Ethiopia waved from the back seat of the first limosine. A tiny dog cuddled in his arms looked at the crowd as Sellasie compulsively patted its head. Holding the ratlike animal, he got out of the car, saluted some imaginary figure, clicked his heels and walked up the red carpeted steps. Like other dictators, he was given a lavish welcome to the District of Columbia, with honor guards, Secret Service, police parades, and a state dinner.

An hour before, 50 members of the Ethiopian Student Association in North America had stormed the Embassy of Ethiopia to oppose the Sellasie dictatorship. Using tactics that the U.S. student movement could learn from, the students approached the embassy in two groups. One group walked together holding signs and flags, while the other was dispersed, later to appear en masse from nearby bushes. As the flag-bearing group approached the em-

bassy, they were told by cops they couldn't demonstrate within 500 feet of embassy grounds. When they replied that they were not demonstrating, but attempting to speak with embassy officials, cops allowed them to walk up to the door.

They rang the bell of the locked embassy, and then broke rank, when, as they had expected, they received no answer. They kicked in the glass door and shoved sticks and kicked their feet through the window. While the startled cops called for help, the students ripped open screens, threw rocks at windows, and stormed into the embassy to destroy Haile Sellasie's photograph and other paraphernalia.

Cops arrived in seconds, but the students fled hurriedly, stopping only to sock it to a cop or two with one of their buddies in tow.

Fourteen were arrested, but most managed to escape. Several were injured as D.C. police entered the Ethiopian Embassy and beat Ethiopian students protesting against their own government.

Sellasie came to ask Nixon for money and arms, to discuss the largest U.S. African base (which is on Ethiopian soil) and generally to buoy up the foreign financial base on which his power rests.

As Sellasie arrived at Blair House, the Ethiopian students were gathered to "greet" him. "Down with Haile Sellasie," they chanted loudly, while signs challenged, "U.S. Bombs and U.S. Planes are Killing People in Ethiopia as Well as Vietnam," and "End Oppression of Students, Workers and Peasants."

Their leaflets demanded that the U.S. government evacuate U.S. military and paramilitary bases and personnel from Ethiopia, terminate its aid programs to the dictatorial and oppressive government of Haile Sellasie, and put an end to material and moral support for the Sellasie dictatorship and its oppression of the people of Ethiopia.

Ethiopia is a country where most inhabitants are poor. The per capita income is \$35 per year, and the illiteracy rate is over 95%. In an age of atomic weapons, Ethiopia remains a feudal nation, where a peasant is required by law to surrender 75% of his produce to the feudal landlord. In addition, the peasants have become victims of rising taxes levied by force and coercion. This year intense and widespread uprisings broke out in protest against a new tax increment proposed by Selassie's regime to sidestep its most severe economic crisis in recent history. While peasants pay for the regime with starvation, Selassie and his officials live in regal splendor.

The student movement confronted Selassie's regime with a set of demands in early March 1969. These included an end to the waste of public funds on lavish entertainment of foreign guests and visits abroad by the Ethiopian court and its officials. The students also opposed prohibitive school and examination fees, insisted that officials responsible for the pathetic condition of Ethiopian education be removed from office, and demanded a public trial of all officials responsible for arbitrary killings and injuries of students and other citizens.

In response to demonstrations around these demands, all schools and colleges throughout Ethiopia were closed. Nineteen students were killed, more than 2000 have been imprisoned in labor camps, and scores have been sentenced to prison terms ranging from six months to five years for alleged criminal acts against the state.

Additional students and young people are constantly arrested under a detention act similar to the one in South Africa, whereby any citizen can be imprisoned for six months without a trial. Political prisoners such as these have reportedly been left on ice and in stagnant water for days on end, dragged by cars over pebble roads, lashed while hanging by their feet, and subjected to torture by electric shock.

Students maintain that while Selassie is visiting the U.S., his armed forces continue to attack dispossessed peasants, who are revolting against feudal exploitation in various provinces, including Baille, Eritrea, Sidamo, Gojjam, Arussi and Harar.

They report that whole villages have been wiped out and their inhabitants massacred by air bombardments from American planes. Peasants are arbitrarily shot or hanged, while workers on strike for wage increases and the right to have labor organizations have been dismissed, imprisoned or murdered.

Students from the Ethiopian Student Association in North America continued to protest Selassie's stay at Blair House until most had been arrested by the end of the second day of their actions, July 8. They are in D.C. Jail on charges of disorderly conduct, assaulting a police officer, destruction of property and other assorted "crimes."

The students said they hoped that those Americans concerned with struggles against imperialism would speak out in support of the Ethiopian life and death struggle. "Ethiopia is the next Vietnam," one student maintained. "Air, advisory and troop build-ups there are at the same level that they were in the early years of the Vietnamese war. It is only a matter of time before additional military support is given."

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A LOYAL PUPPET

WASHINGTON, D.C. (LNS) -- Haile Selassie has proven that he has a fine gift for subtly flattering the U.S. rulers. When he attended the funeral of John F. Kennedy in 1963, he paid a visit to the White House. According to William Manchester in The Death of a President, Selassie declared "that Ethiopia needed no new Kennedy monument because the President's memory was enshrined forever in the work of the Peace Corps."

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REPRESSION IN ETHIOPIA
by the World-Wide Union of Ethiopian Students
LIBERATION News Service

Ethiopia is often portrayed as a country with a glorious tradition of a rich and enduring civilization. Except for the brief Italian occupation, it is known as a nation which has maintained its independence for over three thousand years. There is much we are proud of in this heritage. But beneath the picturesque medievalism of kings and queens lies the overwhelming reality of the misery of our people who have borne the burden of this pageantry. The Ethiopian masses who made heroic sacrifices to safeguard the nation's independence have become subject to a most oppressive internal domination. It is this dismal story of the hardships suffered by the vast majority of Ethiopians that needs to be told.

Politically, Ethiopia remains a despotism. Power is exclusively held by the feudal nobility, presently headed by Haile Selassie. No political parties are allowed. The only similarity the parliament bears to a democratic institution is its name. Members of the upper house are personally appointed by the emperor who is free to overrule any decisions of the lower house. The emperor's decisions and legislation on all matters are binding and are not subject to review by the parliament.

The parliamentary bodies, also called 'deliberative chambers' in the constitution, cannot legislate without the emperor's consent. Even their powers to initiate legislation are limited.
(U.S. Army Handbook for Ethiopia, 1964)

The prime minister and cabinet members are imperial appointees. Discussing the uncontested power of the emperor, the government's official Guide to Ethiopia proclaims:

...in practice, despite the structure of democratic government, most policy questions of any importance are referred to the emperor.

But the constitution which provided for the establishment of parliament is not without a point. The purpose of the constitution is to consolidate the emperor's power over all other feudal institutions, such as the nobility and the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. The U.S. Army Handbook states:

Both as regent and as emperor, Haile Selassie has tried to increase the power of the throne by designing a broader, more constitutional framework within which traditional concepts of government might be adapted and the nobility and the Church brought more closely under the throne's leadership.

In light of this objective, it is not surprising that more than a quarter of the articles of the 1955 Revised Constitution are devoted to the institution of the emperor, which, according to the Constitution, is divinely ordained and indisputable.

The autocratic regime bears full responsibility for the devastated economic and social life of the nation. Ethiopia is an underdeveloped country standing lowest among the poorest countries. The per capita income is estimated to be between \$35 and \$50, a rate unparalleled by most African states. When allowances have been made in this figure for the incomes of the feudal nobility, the peasant's income is barely at subsistence level. Periodic famines are rampant throughout the countryside; annually at least one major province suffers severe starvation. The primitive state of the economy can be seen in the fact that 90% of Ethiopia's population is engaged in agriculture which contributes approximately 62% of the gross domestic product. Modern industry, including electricity and construction, constitutes only 2% of the total output. Modern manufacturing industries make up 2% of the total economy. The contribution of mining is so small as to be negligible.

Ethiopia is a perfect example of a one-commodity export economy. Coffee accounts for between 1/2 and 2/3 of the nation's total

value of exports. The country has been suffering from a rapidly growing trade deficit which has reached such proportions in 1969 that it threatens collapse of the national economy.

The situation in health is alarming. The infant mortality rate is among the highest in the world.

Between 50% and 60% of the newborn children die in the first two and a half years after birth. (U.S. Army Handbook)

Approximately half of the nation's adult population suffers from syphilis. In some urban centers syphilis has reached epidemic proportions. Leprosy is endemic throughout Ethiopia. In the province of Gojjam alone there are an estimated 110,000 to 125,000 lepers. (Army Handbook) Of the 25,000,000 Ethiopians, approximately 10 million live in malaria infested areas. Death from malaria alone is estimated at 20,000 people yearly. "In 1958, for example, 400,000 persons are believed to have died in a malaria epidemic in Tigre." (Army Handbook) Typhus is rampant; amoebic and bacillary dysenteries are widespread. Small pox has long been endemic and few steps have been taken toward its prevention. To meet the requirements of the needlessly fast dying population there is but one hospital bed for every 3500 people, and the majority of these are concentrated in Addis Ababa, catering to the ruling class. Less than 300 doctors provide services for the country's 25 million people. The first five-year plan allocated 2.3% of the total budget to public health. The government's concern for the people's health can be seen in its military expenditure, which, in contrast to health expenses, amounted to 30-35% of the total under the same plan.

Three decades have passed since Haile Sellasie announced that "a free public education is the right of every child." A UNESCO study shows that between 95% and 98%

of the Ethiopian population is illiterate; a figure once again unequaled by any other country. Of the estimate 6,093,000 school-age children, only 186,200 or 3% are in school. Of potential students over 15 years of age, .3% attend school. The very few who manage to attend school in the cities occupy classrooms with an average of 58 other students; in the countryside, the class size is between 79 and 94.

Such misery abounds in a country whose economic potential is considered great. Of Ethiopia's 450,000 square miles, much is plateau land which possesses one of the most fertile agricultural soils and grazing lands in the world. The country's broad range of climates and altitudes allows for the cultivation of a wide variety of agricultural products. According to the Ethiopian Planning Board only 15% of potentially arable land (not including vast areas which could be utilized through irrigation) is at present cultivated. Even under these conditions, Ethiopia is one of the major producers of millet in Africa. It is the second largest wheat producing area in Africa south of the Sahara, and the most important barley producing areas in the continent. Its coffee production exceeds that of most coffee-growing nations. An American economist has estimated that, if properly cultivated, Ethiopia can produce enough food for the whole of Western Europe. According to a U.N. Study, Ethiopia is second only to the Congo in hydro-electric potential among African countries. Although minerals and oil resources have not yet been fully explored, it is known that Ethiopia has large potash and iron ore reserves.

Part of the reason for this disparity between the potential and actual is given in the official Guide to Ethiopia:

There have as yet been no basic changes in the structure of Ethiopian society. The Emperor is the hereditary ruler. There are the great land-owning families whose heads bear titles of nobility and who serve as ministers, officers of state,

governors of provinces, military leaders and Church officials. Below the Imperial family and the nobles are the Amhara and Galla landed gentry who have been the major beneficiaries of educational opportunities abroad and make up much of the government personnel.

When the emperor in a speech in November 1961 declared, "It is our aim that every Ethiopian own land," the imperial family and the feudal nobility owned 65% of all the land and the State Church held between 20% and 30% of the most arable land. Article 2991 of the Civil Code provides that rent in kind levied on a tenant shall in no case exceed 75% of his crop yield. However, at the same time, the article provides that the landlord may evict any tenant who is unable to surrender 75% of his produce--in effect setting the rent at exactly 75%. In addition, this law allows that a new landlord may expel tenants of the former landlord when the land is transferred. On the other hand, the code holds that a peasant is allowed to terminate his services if he is too ill to work, providing that he gives four years notice, or if he dies. The latter condition needs no further comment. In connection with the first proviso, however, it is significant to note that on the average it takes three years before land can be cleared for cultivation; thus the landlord is guaranteed productive land before the tenant is released from his obligations.

Aside from payments in kind, the tenant is required to render various unspecified services to the landlord. It is estimated that the peasant's obligations in this regard amount to one out of three working days. Since the 1960 Civil Code, a Ministry of Land Reform and Administration has been established to further streamline the feudal property relations. In a 1966 study prepared by this Ministry, for example, it was found that in the Province of Sidamo most peasants made cash payments although the law states that

tenants are expected to pay their rent in kind. In addition, 60% of the province's tenants were required to provide cash for government normally paid by the landlord. Under the new administrative provisions, the peasant is increasingly burdened with the new demands of an unstable economy.

In the course of its aggravated oppression, the feudal regime has increasingly made common cause with American imperialism. Part of the United States' economic hold on Ethiopia can be seen in a New York Times January 17, 1969 report:

Ralph Pearson Co. operates a \$45 million mining project in the Danakil Desert. Dozens of American businessmen have already discovered Ethiopia, from a bookstore to a \$100 million potash mining project, from a spice firm to two of the world's largest oil companies. More than 200 American companies also have agencies in Ethiopia. Among the reasons, one of Africa's most liberal investment policies, generous duty-free and tax-exemption provisions, special laws protecting U.S. firms against expropriations and vast potential in agriculture, industry and mining.

The United States has one of its largest Peace Corps missions in Ethiopia. Ethiopia hosts the largest U.S. military "assistance" to Africa. The importance of the American base in Ethiopia is underlined by the New York Times (May 15, 1965):

The Kagnev Station...is in a relatively interference-free area, and has many advantages as the African and Middle Eastern link in the world-wide system of U.S. communications. It is one of the most important stations of its kind in the world.

Haile Sellasie, "the patron of African Unity," has not only leased Ethiopia to America, but has turned it into a base for the neo-colonization of the entire African continent. A report in Africa (1965, No.18) states:

There is evidence that the present Ethiopian government is an imperialist agent... The OAU has asked all member states to remove all military bases... The fact that there is an American base in Ethiopia threatens the independence of Ethiopians. The American MAAG military advisors, the

[IMPORTANT NOTE: DUE TO A TYPING ERROR, THE ETHIOPIAN REPRESSION STORY JUMPS FROM PAGE 15 TO PAGE 17. Thus, this Page 16 has nothing to do with the Ethiopian story. However, in order not to waste the space, we bring you assorted short subjects.]

THAI DEMOCRACY NON-EXISTENT, AP REPORTS

LIBERATION News Service

BANGKOK (LNS) -- B-52 jet bombers take off daily from American bases in Thailand; the country hosts thousands of American troops. It has long been a keystone of the State Department's "domino theory" -- if imperialism fails in Vietnam, wars of national liberation will sweep over Southeast Asia.

Several years ago, U.S. warships of the Seventh Fleet were sent to the waters off Thailand as a show of force to intimidate the growing Thai guerrilla movement. The guerrillas, led by the Patriotic Front of Thailand, are still there, and even the Associated Press, as the following AP dispatch published in The Christian Science Monitor indicates, is aware that if there is one thing U.S. soldiers are not defending in Southeast Asia, it is democracy:

Thailand marked its first anniversary as a "democracy" June 20, but military rule still prevails and Prime Minister Thanom Kittikachorn frankly admits: "Thai politicians are unfamiliar with democracy."

A year ago Thailand got a new constitution, theoretically ending 10 years of absolute military rule. Elections were held last February for the 219-seat Parliament, but it has met fewer than a dozen times.

No bills have been passed, criticism of government performance has been nonexistent and the day-to-day life of the Thais remains unchanged.

Premier Thanom said the state of politics is "no better" than the chaotic situation that existed in 1957 when the Army took power in a coup.

"Members of Parliament still continue to look after their own interests or interests of their provinces," he complained.

"During the last election the candidates followed the old pattern of offering bribes and presents to the people."

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THE GRUELING POWDER PUFF DERBY

WASHINGTON, D.C. (LNS) -- The U.S. Department of Labor is still looking for the "first woman airline pilot in the U.S.," it laments in a re-

cent news release. It goes on to reveal all the pertinent statistics about pilots who happen to be women -- 12,000 licensed pilots, 70 with Air Transport ratings that would permit them to fly commercial airliners. But not one single job, and the Labor Department is perplexed. The Department is also upset because it doesn't believe in artificial barriers to equal opportunity, such as sex.

But is it possible that the Department of Labor itself, so self-righteously on the side of equality, isn't just contributing a little to keeping "the ladies" out of the cockpit? As if to perpetuate the notion that piloting a plane is something that shouldn't be left to "the fair sex," the Labor Department says in its news release: "When the first lady pilot touches down at Dulles Airport July 7, to win the grueling 23rd Annual Powder Puff Derby..."

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UGLY, BUT PROUD

LIBERATION News Service

PORT OF SPAIN, Trinidad (LNS) -- The Honorable Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, Charles A. Meyers, gave a talk June 20 to the sixth meeting of the Inter-American Economic and Social Council meeting here.

"It was an exciting week for inter-American relations," he said of the week when thousands of Latin Americans took to the streets to protest Nelson Rockefeller, the week when scores of workers and students were arrested and even killed for demonstrating against imperialism.

"This Estadounidense [U.S. citizen] is proud of President Nixon's commitment to the hemisphere," said Meyer, referring to Nixon's agreement to pump more Alliance for Progress "aid" into Latin America -- money which has done next to nothing to help the people, and which somehow manages to make its way back to the U.S. in the form of profits on investments and the purchase of U.S. equipment and other goods.

He referred to Rockefeller's voyage as part of a healthy dialogue between friends: "Gov. Rockefeller is contributing to the dialogue by carrying out his mission for the President.... Through this mission we are learning facts, and though the learning process may be difficult, we are determined to stick with it."

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MORE ON ROCKY ON PAGE 4

ETHIOPIA REPRESSION STORY CONTINUES ON PAGE 17

Mapping and Geographical Institute, and the Peace Corps' presence--all these strengthen the hold of imperialism in Ethiopia.

The number of Americans active in the various agencies of neo-colonialism in Ethiopia is over 10,000. In addition, the number of their dependents is between 25,000 and 30,000. Apart from stations in the countryside, large residential urban areas are now American colonies. The continental significance of U.S. imperialism in Ethiopia can be seen in a report in the Illinois State Register (January 12, 1964):

One of the most important showdowns between East and West is in the making in Ethiopia. Upon its outcome may depend whether the U.S. loses Africa. The U.S. must stand behind those who have supported it in the past--in this case, Emperor Haile Sellasie.

The benefit for the feudal government under the agreement on maintaining the military base is the American promise to keep the decadent regime in power.

However, this feudal oppression and imperialist exploitation has not gone unchallenged. Since the return of Haile Sellasie from his sanctuary in Europe at the end of the Italian occupation, there have been a host of rebellions against his regime. In fact, a number of the patriotic liberation forces mobilized to resist the return of the feudal regime. The most important of these attempts to counter reactionary forces took place in the provinces of Gojjam and Tigre. The peasant-nationalist revolt in Gojjam was suppressed by British imperialist forces, who came in support of the man they had preserved during the occupation. A leader of the resistance and the revolt against the feudal regime, Bellay Zelleke, was publicly hanged. The revolt in Tigre province was crushed by the feudal army. Immediately after the rebellion in Gojjam, the Weyanne revolt broke out and lasted for over a year. It was finally suppressed with bombardments by RAF planes from Aden. In 1945, there was a

major peasant revolt refusing payment of excessive taxes. Yet another rebellion in Ogaden was crushed by British forces in 1948. A peasant uprising in Wollo in 1958 was met with "the eradication of a whole chain of villages from the map of Ethiopia" (New Left Review, 1965). In April 1960 peasants in Southern Ethiopia protested the dispossession of their land by the emperor's daughter and some of her children (Africa Today, May, 1961). This protest led to the massacre of more than a thousand peasants. In December 1960, an attempted coup by the Imperial Bodyguard was put down by the army with the aid of planes flown by American pilots. All the leaders were subsequently hung.

Since the 1960 insurrection, the struggle for liberation from the oppressive feudal regime has reached a new stage. Students, workers and peasants are carrying on a nationwide resistance and have begun to consolidate their forces. The last eight years have been a period of extensive armed peasant struggles, initiated in Eritrea and Balle. Workers have continually staged strikes in protest of exploitative labor conditions. During the last year this national progressive struggle has been intensified. The heightened fight follows upon important developments in the political and social conditions of the country. The systematic difficulties of the nation have made a more conspicuous appearance. It is difficult to be precise about the dimensions of the current economic and fiscal problems because of the characteristic incompetence and obscurantism of the huge bureaucracy. To cite one example:

The 1958-59 was disclosed in the July 1959 issue of the Negaret Gazeta, published and circulated at the end of the summer, a few weeks before the end of the fiscal year of September 9, 1959. In any event, budgets are in effect rendering of accounts rather than planning of state expenditure. (U.S. Army Handbook)

The present problems, however, cannot be masked by such paper solutions.

Since 1963, the price of food has gone up by 35.6% and the price of clothing has increased by 26.8%. In the same period, wages have risen less than 5%, while in some areas they have decreased by 12%. This year the government has issued a directive prohibiting the employment of new personnel in government agencies for the next two years. Of those already in government service, employees in a number of provinces have not drawn salaries for over three months. In a hopeless attempt at survival, a series of new taxes have been imposed by the government. On imported food, for example, customs duties have increased by 50%. Yet more taxes were demanded of the peasantry. The regime's restrictions on education are indicative of its desperation. Of the 12,000 students who will be sitting for college entrance examinations this year, the government decided that there were places available for less than 2,000. A new annual school fee of Eth. \$10 per child has been made compulsory. In addition, a fee of US \$10 is required for school entrance examinations. The effect of these fees on education in a country with a per capita income of \$35 to \$50 is self-evident.

This state of intensified oppression and exploitation has given rise to a national uprising of workers, peasants, students and other progressive elements. Workers have staged numerous attacks in various provinces demanding wage increments and the rights of labor organization. Among those engaged in the struggle are transportation workers, printing employees, and workers in the sugar factory. In some of these industries, leaders of the labor movement have been arbitrarily dismissed or physically eliminated. The workers have responded by going out on strike until the men are reinstated and reparations have been made.

In protest of the new taxes levied on land, peasant uprisings have spread to other regions in addition to those already underway in Balle, Borrena and Eritrea. The province of Gojjam has taken up arms against the regime. Similar

uprisings are underway in Arussi and Harar. In retaliation, the government has mobilized its military and police forces against the peasant population of Ethiopia. Eritrea, Gojjam and other areas of peasant struggle have been under constant attack by army divisions which had been moved there. Air bombardment of these regions has been constant and severe. In many areas, whole villages have been wiped out, and their inhabitants brutally murdered.

The Ethiopian Student Movement is in the front of these struggles. Students are waging the struggle under the banner of Land to the Tiller and Anti-Imperialism. The goal has become the building of a new Ethiopia based on a complete social transformation of the society. Reaffirming its resolute opposition to feudalism and imperialism, the Student Movement has drafted specific demands. The demands include: the withdrawal of recently instituted school and examination fees; a just and equitable distribution of scholarships granted by any foreign nation; cessation of the use of American Peace Corps teachers, whose function is to serve as agents of cultural imperialism in Ethiopia; immediate termination of the vast expenditures on extravagant entertainment of foreign guests and similar visits abroad by Ethiopian officials; the removal from office of those officials directly responsible for the state of the education system. The students also demand that various officials responsible for the killing of students during peaceful demonstrations be brought for public trials. University, secondary, and elementary school students throughout the nation staged demonstrations to voice these demands. They have been joined by parents, teachers and other youths in their action. The government retaliated by closing all schools and colleges for over a month. Later, when the institutions were ordered open, students refused to attend

classes and continued to demonstrate until their demands are met. Since the autocracy made no gesture in this direction, almost all of the nation's schools and colleges remained closed for the rest of the school year. The Ethiopian Student Movement overseas has condemned the regime and supports the demands of the compatriots at home. Demonstrations of solidarity were held at Ethiopian Embassies in various capitals including Belgrade, Stockholm, London, Moscow, Paris and Washington, D.C.

Throughout this continuing struggle, the government has employed the full force of its repressive machinery. Many students have been killed and hundreds seriously wounded during the demonstrations. Thus far, more than two thousand students and youth have been imprisoned in labor camps outside the capital. Many others are in various provincial and district prisons. Hundreds of students have been expelled from schools and colleges and await court trial. The first group, consisting of four students and a teacher, have been sentenced to five years imprisonment and hard labor for alleged acts of defamation and endangering of national security.

Students and other persons held in connection with this year's struggle have been subjected to extremely brutal treatment in prison. Some have been fatally beaten; others have been tied to cars and dragged over pebble roads. Prisoners have been kept in ice or stagnant water for days on end. The use of electric shock as torture has become widespread. In March (1969) the regime decreed a Detention Act setting a three-month imprisonment for any suspect with a provision that the period can be extended at the discretion of the security arm of the government. Armed with this fascist law, the reactionary regime has proceeded to subject thousands to the brutal practices it has perfected in an effort to forestall its downfall.

In the face of such persecution, the present uprising continues. At the time of

writing, many are still in prison awaiting trial. New arrests among students, workers and other progressive elements are being made every day. All colleges and schools remain closed as the Ethiopian Student Movement is resolved to continue its struggle until all its demands are met.

The people and students of Ethiopia are all too familiar with the oppression and inhumanity of the feudal and neo-colonialist regime in Ethiopia. But the diabolic nature of the government and the true condition of the masses of Ethiopia remain unknown to world public opinion. That such a regime, through its control of the press and censorship should attempt to hide its despicable practices does not come as a surprise. It is all the more imperative therefore that all well-meaning and progressive peoples everywhere make their voices heard in condemnation of its inhuman acts.

The present popular uprising is but a stage in the protracted struggle of the people of Ethiopia which will free Ethiopia from feudalism, and allow the masses to build a nation whose history will be their own. We call upon all progressive people to join our cause by actively contributing to the unmasking of the feudal and neo-colonialist regime. Above all, we urge you to acquaint students and other progressive forces everywhere with the cause of the oppressed masses of Ethiopia.

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QUOTATION FOR OUR TIMES

"Quando merda tiver valor, pobre nasce sem cu...."

-- Portuguese proverb

"When shit is worth something, poor people will be born without assholes...."

-- translation of Portuguese proverb

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[Note to editors: The following article has been prepared from a series of dispatches sent to LNS from a group of New Left Italians and Americans in Turin. This article may be cut; asterisks indicate possible cutting points. The drawing on Page P-1 may be used to accompany this story.]

URBAN GUERRILLA WARFARE IN ITALY:

FIAT UNDER ATTACK

LIBERATION News Service

TURIN, Italy (LNS) -- Thursday, July 3rd, saw a day of full-scale urban warfare in diverse sections of metropolitan Turin. Initiated in the early afternoon by a police attack on a demonstration of workers and students, continuous violent struggles in five or six points of the city lasted until dawn the next day. Tentative totals show 70 policemen and more than 100 students and workers injured. About 150 workers and students were taken into custody, with 29 held for arrest. Later, the situation was quiet, but tense.

The context of the fighting was a general strike called by the trade unions to protest Turin's high rents and housing shortage. Behind the strike, in reality, is the struggle that Turin's FIAT workers (130,000 in Turin) have carried on for more than two months. These struggles were developed autonomously by the workers, supported by the students, and carried out against the opposition of the trade unions and the traditional left parties -- as well as of the management. Production has been cut to an extent never before seen at FIAT.

In effect, the general strike was an attempt by the trade unions and traditional left parties (Communist Party, the Socialist parties) to control and contain this new workers' movement within reformist objectives, such as token wage raises and some new housing.

Instead, the struggle burst once more out of all efforts at control, as students, young workers and residents of working-class neighborhoods found themselves side by side fighting off the attacks of the police.

In response to the general strike ordered by the unions, the workers and students called for a rally and march to begin in the early afternoon. The aim of the demonstration was to

show the unity of the FIAT workers and the students with the workers of other factories and the population of the different working-class sections of the city.

The instantaneous police action was the result of a predetermined decision to repress the various "non-institutionalized" struggles which express the growing strength of the New Left in Italy.

The demonstration started out in front of the FIAT gates with some 4,000 strong -- more or less equally divided between workers and students. It was 2:30 p.m. The police, already at their assigned posts, informed the demonstrators that the march was unauthorized and that they would not be allowed to depart.

Immediately after this announcement, the cops charged with clubs swinging.

At this point the first pitched battle began. Stones came from the students and workers; a rain of tear gas and more club charges were made by the police.

This first skirmish lasted only a short time and the demonstrators regrouped a short distance away. By now, 5,000 men and women were ready to continue the march. A short walk led the marchers into the center of a new workers' apartment development directly in front of the main FIAT complex. Marching calmly and with the column under control, the group reached the center of the neighborhood. A very large column of police in full battle garb then came into view. The police charged. The marchers, unprepared for a violent confrontation, dispersed in all directions.

Afterward began the slow and somewhat confused regroupment in the center of the neighborhood, now occupied at both ends by the police, reinforced by units from neighboring towns.

From that point on, urban guerrilla warfare began in earnest. Repeated charges by the police were met first by showers of rocks, followed by dispersion and regroupment at other points. Barricades were built; cars were set afire. Police mobility was significantly reduced.

At the same time, similar battles had broken

out in a number of other points in the city, where other parts of the march had moved to assemble. The continuous pitched battle continued in the same hit-and-run form until the combination of the arrival of dawn, exhaustion and police reinforcements put the lid temporarily back on the boiling pot. Sixteen hours of street fighting served notice, however, that that lid would not be easily kept in place.

* * *

Above all else, the July 3 battles clearly demonstrated the new unity between workers and students that developed out of the FIAT struggles of the last two months.

FIAT is the largest industrial complex and automobile manufacturer in Europe, and the third largest producer of automobiles in the world. In 1968, FIAT had a sales total of \$2.1 billion, producing 1,750,000 cars as well as turbines, trucks, jet fighters, farm equipment and Diesel engines.

FIAT cars are by far Italy's most important export item. In 1968, FIAT exported 535,000 cars worth \$496 million. By means of the recent merger with France's Citroen, Giovanni Agnelli, FIAT's crown-prince president, now presides over an automobile empire with total sales of more than \$3 billion a year and annual production in excess of 2,000,000 units.

In its operation in all of Italy, FIAT employs some 157,000 workers, most of whom are located in Turin, the heartland of the FIAT complex. FIAT's need for workers is constantly growing and this year, 15,000 new workers will migrate to Turin, most coming from Italy's poverty-stricken South. Among FIAT's current work force, more than two-thirds are immigrants from other parts of Italy -- usually the poorer parts.

* * *

Numerous explosions of worker protest and resistance have occurred inside the FIAT factories since 1961. These ranged from large walkouts to forms of internal protest like slowdowns, sabotage, etc. The struggles -- which reached a new peak in recent months --

helped to form a new kind of consciousness. Permanent forms of independent organization did not emerge, however. At the same, a specific political consciousness began to develop among the workers. They began to see the link between economic power and political power. They began to see that they were not struggling against isolated, misguided tyrants, but rather against the owner and manager of half of Italy. Above all, Turin is dominated by the presence of FIAT -- from La Stampa (Turin's principal daily and the second most important newspaper in Italy), which is owned and controlled by Fiat, to the smog that pollutes the air. This level of consciousness has existed at FIAT for some years, but due to the failures of the unions, the workers had little faith in the possibility of basically altering the situation.

At this point enter three new factors, which help to explain the present dimension of the struggle.

The first involves important changes in the composition of FIAT's working force. The large increases in recent years in the number of FIAT workers is due primarily to the hiring of young immigrants from the South. Different from the older workers who have spent long years at FIAT, these young workers feel no particular sense of gratitude for the 100,000 lire (\$165) which FIAT pays them each month. A FIAT salary and position for the young workers is a simple fact, and not a special privilege to be carefully protected, as it once was, in less prosperous times, for older workers.

The second factor is that while it might seem that the large numbers of immigrants coming from the poverty stricken South would be easily integrated into the more prosperous FIAT-Turin complex, in practice this has not happened. The work in the FIAT plants is much heavier and more tiring (and sometimes dangerous) than that which the immigrants have experienced in the South. Also, the immigrants find Turin's life much more expensive and unpleasant (a massive housing shortage, racial discrimination, etc.) than they expected. For these reasons, the immigrants have no particular

feelings of joy over their situation at FIAT, and the need for change becomes much stronger than the simple need to cling to their jobs. In addition, there have been recently in the South, a number of genuinely violent struggles rooted in the unchanging or worsening conditions of the region. New workers coming from the South carry with them the vivid memories of these conditions and battle experience gained in the rebellions, such as those at Avola and Battipaglia.

The third factor is more external and relates to the explosion of the Movimento Studentesco (student movement) which began in Turin in the fall of 1967 and soon spread throughout Italy. New forms of organization and of struggle (street demonstrations, building occupations, fighting with the police, etc.), along with a revolutionary political line, have become widely publicized in the course of the last two years. In particular, the revolutionary movement in France in May 1968 provided an important example of how the struggles of the students and workers could be linked up in a radical way.

* * *

New forms of worker agitation are emerging. The workers are showing themselves capable of autonomously organizing the struggle against management. They have a new faith in their own organizing capacity and are able to carry out daily organizational tasks in a disciplined, concrete way.

A typical example of this new maturity is the decision to broaden their base, not by means of a general walkout, but rather by stepping up agitation inside the factories.

Before the spring of 1969, the workers always turned to walkouts to express their grievances. This was a sign of weakness; that is, when the workers re-entered the plants after a few days without pay, they found conditions just as they had left them, and nothing had changed.

A generalization of inside-the-plant agitation, on the other hand, requires a much higher level of day-to-day planning and decision-making, creates more chaos within the production process, and maintains the economic base of the

workers.

The workers have clearly realized that the crux of the matter is not a question of higher wages, line delegates and fringe benefits, but really a question of power: that is, who will control the life of the factory?

At this point, we touch on the central question of changing "the system." As has been indicated above, the vanguard of FIAT workers has always had a relatively high level of political consciousness. The new fact is that they are, for the first time, beginning to organize themselves and to channel this political consciousness into concrete action.

Their example is having its effect, as evidenced by the battles of July 3. With major industrial contracts (chemical, metal, construction) set to expire in the fall, this new unity of students and militant workers takes on added political significance.

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ROCK IMPERIALISTS

By Mark Kramer
LIBERATION News Service

NEW YORK (LNS) -- The list of stars who will show up at the Woodstock Rock Festival this August is mighty impressive -- as fine as any ever.

There's everyone: Joan Baez, the Who, Joe Cocker, Janis Joplin, the Jefferson Airplane, Ravi Shankar, Blood Sweat and Tears, Creedence Clearwater Revival, Richie Havens, Canned Heat, Arlo Guthrie, Tim Hardin, Johnny Winter, the Band, Iron Butterfly, The Grateful Dead and the Incredible String Band, for example.

The arrangements to help you spend three days in the wilds sound as impressive as the list of stars -- free campgrounds, ample water and outhouses; free rice kitchen for the poor and hungry; catering by Nathan's of Coney Island; craft booths which might just be bivouac head shoppes, and which might be craft booths.

So the rock imperialists deliver the goods. When you want a banana, United Fruit sells a good banana. And when you want a rock festival,

Woodstock Music and Art Fair, Inc. sells a good rock festival--at \$7 a day.

The Guatemalans who grew the bananas get to eat an occasional bruised model. And the street people, the denizens of the lower east side, of the Haight, let them eat free rice and maybe they'll hear the sounds wafting out past the gates.

But they made the culture which the rich fops imitate. Walk down St. Marks Place in the East Village and dig the crowd on either side of the velvet rope which separates those with the bread (\$10 a couple) to get into the Electric Circus from those who beg spare change to buy a knish.

On the rich side, the same outfits as on the poor side, except ironed and cut from finer cloth--bell bottoms, groovy vests, mucho hair, svelte girls in granny glasses. On the poor side, it's hip...on the rich side, it's a shuck, it's an Imitation of Hip. It's fancy boutique clothes cut to look like the old surplus clothes which the street people once wore out of poverty, thereby creating a style.

For some, the dress constitutes a case of 'going native' for a night on the Bowery. For others, it's simply high fashion. The impulse for kids to dress 'well' is plugged in nasty trend-setting magazines like "seventeen", and supported by the huge cloth and garment companies, the cosmetics companies and the hygiene-freak companies. The sales job for fashion is easier than others--for the styles come complete with a built-in image. Marlboro has to spend millions to rope together its cancer-sticks and he-manhood. But the Fashion-Makers have it easy this year, because the clothes styles which they plug were once part of a genuine revolutionary and romantic lifestyle.

So America's teenagers are exploited by big companies that hold 'lifestyle' out as bait. "BUY THIS AND YOU WILL BE..." You will be what? Hip? You'll own another piece of snappy clothing, you'll be able to crowd the poor girl down the block still further, you'll earn your ticket to daydream about running toward him through tall fields of hay, arms stretched toward the sun--the kind of daydream they push in ads for cunt

deodorant.

And the kind of daydream they push on...album covers. "But (you say) album covers are great. I trip, and look at album covers, and...etc." But it ain't that way. Rock may have come from the street people, along with styles that grew out of buying surplus clothing, and daydreams that grew out of mystic studies and sunshine state habits. And the communication between the performing artists and you may still bear the same free-you-up message.

But in between you and the performer, there's billions of dollars that you're paying and (for the most part) he's not getting. Who is getting it? The huge companies that own the record empires. Here's the puzzle: the same companies that own the recording contracts and record studies which make 'liberated' music, also own government contracts and subsidiary companies which make electronic bombing equipment, spying equipment, death equipment which is used in Vietnam and in our other colonies. The companies don't care how they make money, as long as they make the money. If they can make it from anti-war youth culture by coming on hip, they'll do it. And if they can make it from killing Vietnamese and killing off thousands of years of Vietnamese culture with expensive weapons systems for the government, they'll do that too.

For example, CBS owns Columbia records, Masterworks, Blue Horizon, Odyssey, Harmony, Date, Okeh and several other record companies. They have invested heavily in defense contracts as well, working especially in the areas of laser beams, radar, spy photography, underwater detection--the sorts of technological work which keeps up the arms race and makes fat profits. It's the same story with most of the other major record companies. Like true imperialists, they'll go wherever the market is, talk whatever language (be it Vietnamese or hip-ese) needs talking, sell whatever people will pay for, as long as they make a profit.

Does this mean you shouldn't buy records? No, of course not. If you wanted to live in this country without supporting the death machine, you

couldn't eat or turn on an electric light.

What it means is that you should understand a few facts of life. When you sit down with a sandwich (made of food processed by big business) and when you take a bite of the sandwich and start listening to music of YOUR culture, peddled for the profit of THEIR culture, then dig it! That's the corner they've got you backed into. Supporting the very things you hate the most in order to get the few things you want. There's a revolutionary movement growing in this country to fight just that form of oppression.

What has this got to do with Woodstock? You might go there and have a fine time, but just remember that someone is making a million on your fun, and it isn't the performers, many of whom come for little or nothing.

We interviewed the promoters setting up the Woodstock Festival, at a press conference arranged by the mid-town publicity company they hired. The conference itself was a slick operation. It passed itself off as a consultation between "leaders of the rock community" and the underground press on how to have peaceful good times for everyone.

They didn't need to consult with anyone. Way back in April they had hired a federal law enforcement official, Wes Pomeroy, whom they described to me as "a very progressive kind of cat." A very progressive kind of cat who had worked with Johnson on the Safe Streets' Act, and with Republican bigwigs in planning security for their '64 convention at the Cow Palace. That's who the investors ("leaders

of the rock community") consulted with when they wanted security for their investment, not the underground press people. Even though the press conference handout reads, "We have called a special meeting of the underground press and rock community leaders to discuss ways of developing ...safe and harmonious pop music festivals."

Mike Lang and Artie Kornfall and two other partners put up half-a-million bucks. They're expecting big returns from ticket sales, a cut of concession sales, and also from selling T.V. and movie rights. Artie used to head Columbia Records. He told me, "I'd dig my daughter to be able to eat too."

What about the street people? Mike says "We're not turning our backs on these people--we've got to feed them." And let them in?

"..."

Don't you feel you're exploiting hip culture for your own gain? Artie said, "Much of us have the same goal. We want to be able to cut out--not take shit--and go live in the country." Except that for most, it is a dream, not a goal, as long as Artie collects from every freak who wants to hear his music. And except that now that so many people want to cut out, they might find it easier to get together and put a stop to the conditions they want to escape.

What about the riot that happened at the LA rock festival, Artie? "We are them--when they attack us, they are attacking themselves. If you talk about an army, it's got a lot of different wings. We're just another wing."

Maybe Artie and Mike are fooling themselves and maybe not. But they have extracted from the movement those things which can make them some money--talent, excitement, revolutionary energy, identity with hip looks and talk. But they have missed the heart of the movement. The revolutionary energy of rock and of the movement is a response to oppression--it grew out of the blues, out of the poor white country music, out of the emancipated poverty of the street people and their drug scene, out of the anger about national leaders represent--

ing corporate interests, while killing people, anger about how students get lied to and treated in public schools.

The movement is made by and sung by people who oppose exploitation, whether by war elsewhere, or by high prices, racism and low wages at home. The movement is not represented in any way by rich investors getting richer by the profits of rock festivals -- even if the investors do look hip and talk hip and know hip people.

By the way, if you do go to the Woodstock festival (actually, the grounds are located in Wallkill, N.Y.). Wes Pomeroy has a staff of 400 security people working for him, in and out of costume. When he was asked about kids smoking dope there, he said, "We'll do nothing to protect them. There will be narcs there, same as everywhere -- they're going to have to pay \$7, too."

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PHILA. BLACKS CELEBRATE THE FOURTH:

ALL-WHITE CHURCH IS LIBERATED

LNS/ Phila. Free Press

PHILA. (LNS) -- While other Philadelphians prepared gala re-enactments of a Declaration of Independence almost two centuries old, a group of young black people declared their own "independence" on July 3, and liberated an all-white church.

They claimed the Cookman Methodist Church as "the rightful property of the community," and opened its doors to all the community's members. Hundreds of kids have sat through classes history, drama and art, many for the first time. The auditorium was turned into a play area for basketball, tennis, pool, and rollerskating. The children are served food several times a day, much of it donated by members of the community who enthusiastically support the liberation.

The liberators, members of black youth groups which subscribe to the Black Manifesto demanding reparations from white churches that have

SEE ROCKY STORY ON PAGE 4

oppressed black people for centuries, renamed the church the Community Liberation Center. They want more than simply the use of the church's facilities -- they want the land, the building and the deed.

The Methodist Church isn't taking kindly to the liberation. They refuse to "give in" to the community, claiming that the liberators are not "representative." The Church's minister said: "We believe Cookman Methodist is a testing ground for our society. We must choose between revolution and responsiveness. The group using the church facilities are revolutionaries."

The liberation is supported by People for Human Rights, a white radical organization which is fighting racism in the white community; they are manning picket lines in front of the church, and they spend the night with the liberators inside the building.

The Methodists have demanded that the Blacks leave, and threatened to have them forcibly removed if they refused. They may seek an injunction. A spokesman for the Black Economic Development Conference, which is leading the liberation, stated: "We intend to stay here seven days a week, twenty four hours daily, until the church becomes the property of the community."

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BUT CAN YOU FOOL THEM ALL OF THE TIME?

WASHINGTON (LNS)-- If you're an ex-GI who hasn't gotten much of an education or a chance to pick up a skill that would land you a decent job, then the Department of Health, Education and Welfare says it's ready to do you a favor. They'll train you to be a cop.

The U.S. Office of Education has signed a \$100,000 contract with the International Association of Police Chiefs, Inc., for Operation Police Manpower. It seems that there is a critical shortage of policemen. After sending a young guy to fight against a popular revolution in Vietnam, the government apparently thinks it will be easy to recruit him for a similar job here at home. You can fool some of the people some of the time...

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CHICAGO'S WAR ON YOUNG PEOPLE

Liberation News Service

CHICAGO(LNS)-- Illinois State Attorney Edward Hanrahan, Chicago Mayor Richard Daley, and the Chicago police have "declared war on youth-gang structures," according to the June issue of the Chicago Journalism Review.

The Review claims that Chicago officialdom is determined to link the politically motivated youth groups -- the Black Panther Party, the Young Lords (a Puerto Rican group) and the Young Patriots (a poor Appalachian white group) -- and other youth gangs with "an outbreak of gang violence and gang warfare" which must be stopped by law'n order. The hoped-for effect will be a wave of anti-gang and anti-youth hysteria on the part of the public, and implicit sanction for destroying the alliances and potential alliances between young people who are learning to fight the system instead of one another.

Chief hatchetmen for the campaign are the cops on the gang intelligence unit, created in 1967, and headed by a Negro named Ed Buckley. GIU is out to "crush the gangs" and employs cops who favor the "kick them in the ass approach." Over the past two years, GIU has directed a campaign of constant police harassment, surveillance, arrest and raids against youth groups and youth centers.

Headquarters of several Chicago gangs have been raided by GIU squads and special cops. Raids were made on flimsy pretexts. The cops did thousands of dollars in damage, arrested gang members on minor charges, and searched all the premises for guns and dope. Several establishment youth al/agencies in Chicago have prepared suits against the police for illegal search. A member of the Chicago Youth Center said, "Our staffs and headquarters and the groups we work with are constantly harassed by the police department, in many cases illegally."

GIU is not so concerned about crime as it pretends, however. It has opposed programs to "rehabilitate" youth gang members, and has

tried to intimidate social workers, community leaders, foundation officials and churchmen who sponsor such programs. Their opposition to social work techniques has continued, even in the face of evidence that crime does decrease in areas serviced by rehabilitative agencies.

GIU also attempts to instigate fights and disputes between normally rival gangs. Members of one gang are arrested, brought to precinct houses, then released in another gang's territory, on the cops' hope that the two groups will fight it out. GIU cops also spread rumors and accusations about gang activities, hoping to start a rumble. The young people have fought these tactics by declaring a truce in some neighborhoods and checking out all rumors before moving toward trouble.

This "war on youth" was declared for political reasons. Actual statistics show that crimes committed by youth parallel the (usually high) crime rate in ghetto areas; in areas where the youth gang leadership is strong, crimes committed by youth decrease.

The "war" is aimed at the leaders of political groups and of youth groups who are trying to snuff out violence and build black community power. (There are presently 23 cases against top gang leaders in Chicago courts, and the GIU has recently arrested leaders of the Panthers and the Lords on criminal charges.) The Panthers have tried very hard to talk rival gangs into giving up their fratricidal battles and join a common effort against the oppressor.

Chicago's press has worked hand-in-hand with the official campaign. Banner headlines and sensationalized stories cry about "gang violence" and "warfare", even though many crimes described were not committed by known gang members. Articles follow the official police accounts with no attention being given to the facts or the defendant's side. Indictments against gang members are published with little follow-through on subsequent court action. (In a total of 112 cases against arrested Blackstone Rangers, 67 were acquitted, 17 were given probation, 12 were fined and only 26 were sentenced, with 13 of those appealing. Thus police reports do not stand up under a court test.) One Chicago reporter said: "You know how crime is reported in this city. The policeman at the scene is the reporter. The rest of us are rewriters."

The press cooperates by withholding details or refusing to publish factual accounts of the youth groups' work in the communities. As one example, police have been decrying the rivalry between the Black-P-Stone Nation (formerly the Rangers) and the Disciples, on the South Side. Yet last Spring both groups cooperated with each other and with the police (!) to prevent a threatened riot in the area. This was not reported, though reporters and police were well aware of it.

The press also refuses to report or investigate complaints of police harassment. When a paper published a youth group's opinion on the GIU, Daley blasted the paper for "romanticizing gangs."

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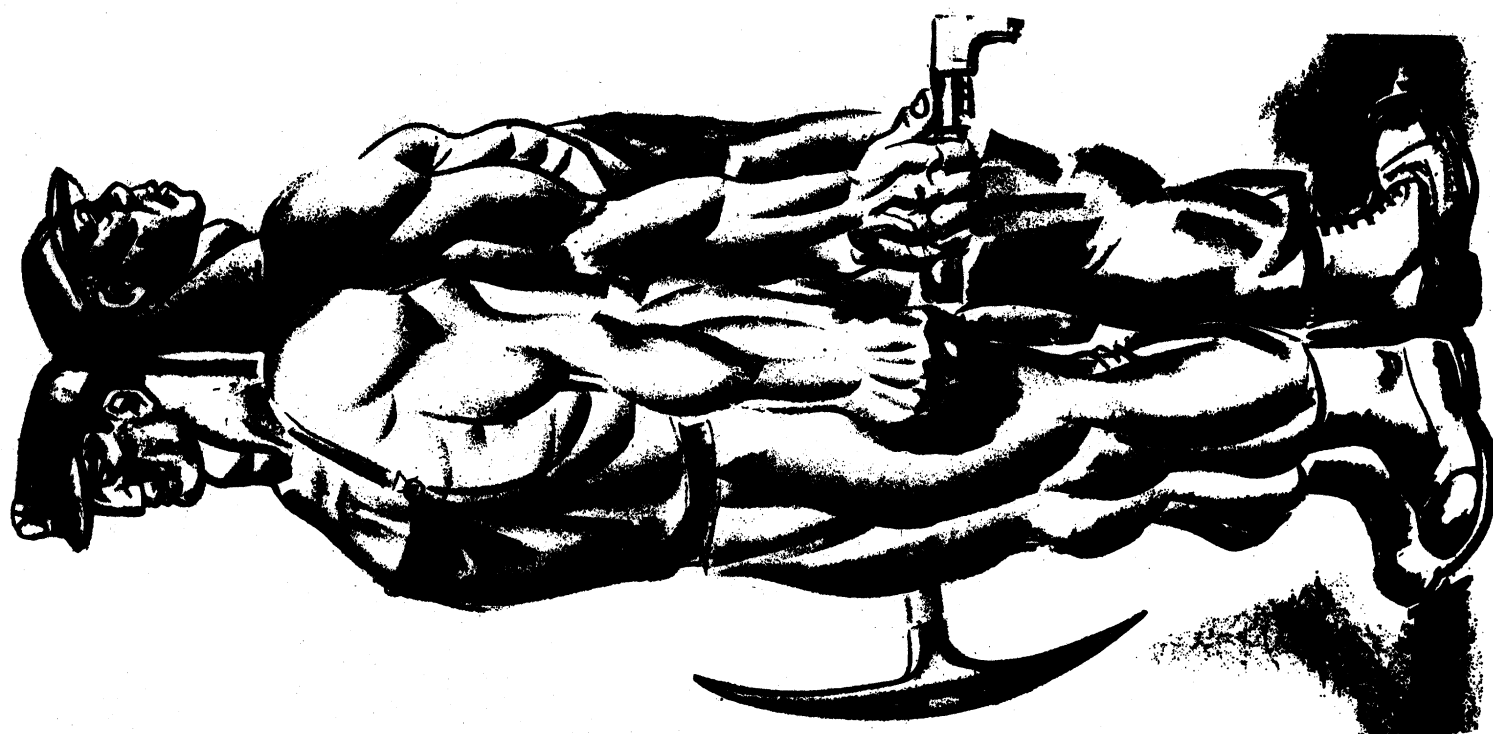


Please credit The Movement/LNS

(This drawing may be used to accompany the article about striking workers in Italy which appears on Page 20 in this packet. Or it may be held for use with future LNS stories about the growing workers insurgencies in the U.S. and abroad.)



“ It's a free country and you're fighting to keep it free -- whatsa matter don't you believe in freedom ?”



Credit both graphics to The Movement/LNS

Bottom drawing may also be used to accompany article on Italian workers on Page 20.



These are references to student disruptions that have appeared in straight comic strips. They should be used with story on the "funnies" on Page 1.

Please credit Peninsula Observer/LNS